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Bismarck und seine Welt. Grundlegung einer psychologischen Biographie. Von OSKAR KLEIN-HATTINGEN. In zwei Bänden. Erster Band: 1815-1871. (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1902. Pp. viii, 709.)

"FROM the title of the work," the author says in his preface, "the reader may gather that the task proposed is: On the basis of the historico-political and biographical material to give a psychological demonstration, for the ultimate purpose of an essentially exhaustive characterization of Bismarck." This ultimate purpose, he adds, cannot yet be attained; we stand too near Bismarck's life to disengage from its details the really salient features; and the author's work is to be regarded only as "a first attempt of its kind."

To use a word that has been much overworked and not a little abused, Klein is trying to depict the "real" Bismarck. His book, of course, is not what he claims, a first attempt of its kind. Nobody writes a historical biography without attempting to get inside his hero. All that really distinguishes this book from the numerous lives of Bismarck that have already appeared is an arrangement that emphasizes this universal attempt, and a slightly pretentious employment of technical psychological terms. Like any other biographer, Klein divides Bismarck's life into periods, and gives a narrative of the events of each period. Unlike the majority of biographers, he appends to each period a general survey (*Überschau*), in which he gives us a study of Bismarck's mind and character at the stage of development then attained. These surveys constitute less than one-tenth of the book and they include other things besides psychological demonstrations. On the other hand, the process of psychological demonstration is applied not only to Bismarck, but also to King William and to Bismarck's leading associates and antagonists. Klein's estimate of William is substantially identical with that of Erich Marcks. Neither book can enjoy the approval of the present Emperor, for both make it clear that even Hohenzollerns need guardians.

Regarded simply as an historical biography, the book has great merits. The author knows the history of the time and commands the Bismarck literature; his material is well selected and well grouped; and his style, although somewhat exclamatory, is lucid and readable. To his knowledge he adds insight and judgment; and his construction of the inner Bismarck is perhaps as near the truth as that of any other biographer. Over most of the German biographers he has distinct advantages: he is too skeptical to take Bismarck's own statements as final, and he has too much humor to regard Bismarck's paradoxes as expressions of lifelong convictions.

Klein has of course, like other men, his prejudices, and he is biased by them. The chief points to be taken into account in controlling his construction of character and his presentation of events are: first, that he is a thoroughly patriotic German; secondly, that he is a Liberal, and not a National Liberal, but something more to the Left,

apparently in Eugene Richter's neighborhood; and thirdly, that he seems to regard religious faith as a subjective illusion, describes altruism as a form of egoism, and declares that morality is subordinate to prudence (*Klugheit*), *i. e.* to the individual perception of a real social utility. His German patriotism makes it seem to him a commendable example of diplomatic skill that Bismarck played off France against Austria, but an act of treason to Germany that Austria tried to play off France against Prussia. His Liberalism leads him to believe that Germany might have been unified without iron and blood on the programme of the Gotha party, if that party had possessed a leader of anything like Bismarck's ability. His attitude towards religion does not lead him to view William and Bismarck as hypocrites; he holds that their faith was sincere; but there is a touch of superior scorn in every allusion to their religion. The young Bismarck, "as regards insight into religious, social, and political matters, stands far from the summit of the culture of his time" (p. 35). Bismarck's Christianity, although sincere, is described as very "practical": Bismarck uses it with diplomatic adroitness to secure the consent of his prospective father-in-law to his betrothal, to keep himself in touch with the Conservative leader Gerlach and, through him, with Frederick William IV., and to control William I. Bismarck "was certainly a man of prayer, but only in second instance. He was accustomed to act; to await 'illumination from above' as a guide to his action did not occur to him" (p. 415). King William, on the other hand, was a man of prayer in first instance. In 1866 he announced to his ministers that, after beseeching God to show him the right way, he was convinced that the impending war with Austria was just. Klein comments: "A classical case of religious autosuggestion, which shows indeed the King's limited power of thought but also his unfeigned piety. He is always like this: he brings all his conscientious scruples to his God, and He — how could it be otherwise when a King by His grace applies to Him? — is affable" (pp. 305, 306).

One very practical question suggested by a work like this is, To what extent may the study of a statesman's mental processes, as revealed in actions that we fully understand, help us to explain conduct that we do not fully understand? Every historian, consciously or unconsciously, uses such inferences. Like a writer of fiction, he hesitates to represent his persons as moved by considerations which, according to his understanding of them, would not be likely to influence them; and, conversely, he is ready to attribute to them resolves and acts which seem "in character." In Bismarck's career the obscurest point is his treatment of the Hohenzollern candidacy for the throne of Spain. It is now well known that Bismarck favored this candidacy, if not at first, at least in 1870, and that it was through his exertions that the offer of the throne, thrice rejected, was made for the fourth time and was then accepted. Bismarck denied at the time and ever afterward — he denies in his *Reminiscences* — that this candidacy was intended to provoke France to war. The interesting question is, What other expectations, what other motives, could

he have had? His own explanations seem wholly unsatisfactory. Into this affair Klein goes very fully. To the Spanish candidacy and its diplomatic treatment up to the outbreak of the Franco-German war he devotes not less than one-sixth of this volume. His explanation — which cannot be so reproduced, in the limits of a book-review, as to be wholly intelligible — is not in all respects convincing: to the reviewer he seems to lay too little stress on the fact that, in the spring of 1870, French and Austrian military men were planning, for 1871, a joint campaign against Prussia, and on the probability that this fact was known to Bismarck. But on the whole Klein's construction seems to be more in accordance with the facts, as far as they are known, and with the character of Bismarck, than any other which has yet been attempted.

The promised second volume, dealing with Bismarck's career subsequent to 1871, can hardly be of equal interest, and the author's political bias is likely to exercise a more disturbing influence upon his judgment; but for all that, the second volume also will doubtless be worth reading.

MUNROE SMITH.

Self-Government in Canada and how it was Achieved. The Story of Lord Durham's Report. By F. BRADSHAW, B.A. [Studies in Economics and Political Science.] (London: P. S. King and Son. 1903. Pp. vi, 414.)

THE question of the federation of the South African colonies has recalled the attention of the English people to the successive steps by which the discontented provinces, which now form the Canadian Federation, were rendered contented and prosperous and led voluntarily to seek that unity which, at one time, appeared so improbable. The new edition of Lord Durham's *Report* with notes and the publication of the volume under review show how important the consideration of the question has become. Mr. Bradshaw, an Oxford graduate, has been engaged in research work in the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the bulky volume, forming one of the studies published by the school, is the result of his labors. The study is practically confined to the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, different conditions prevailing in the maritime provinces. In both provinces the Constitutional Act of 1791 had provided for their government by a governor appointed by the Crown, who was to be advised by an appointed council and an elected assembly. The judges and most of the important heads of departments were either sent out from England or appointed from among the friends of the governor, the post-office was imperial, and the revenues were largely supplemented from the English budget. In Lower Canada the task of the governor was complicated by the fact that about seventy-five per cent. of the inhabitants were French, speaking their native language, adhering to the *Coutume de Paris* in civil cases and accepting reluctantly English common law in criminal. The remaining twenty-five per cent. were almost entirely composed of English merchants, in whom most of the wealth of the country was settled and who